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Introduction

Heritage, Affect and Emotion

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There is shift in the heritage landscape. It is a palpable, visceral shift that challenges the format, engagements and paradigms through which we articulate heritage at sites, in scholarship and in practice. Fuelling this shift is a groundswell of research that attends to the value, power and politics of emotion and that shapes heritage landscapes as experienced, as curated and as foundational to our relationship with the past. Heritage is powered by affect, and affective flows shape accounts of nation. Sensibilities that are shot through, evoked, and experienced, co-constitute meanings of memory, identities and heritage past and present (Crang and Tolia-Kelly, 2010). This edited collection focuses on scholarship that interrogates the very underpinning of the nature of heritage itself and the economies that shape and enable its presence in the twenty-first century. The interrogation of visual representation in heritage research (see Waterton and Watson, 2010) and the call for expanding the palate of heritage theory (Waterton and Watson, 2013) have led to the consideration of more-than-textual embodied approach to heritage research. This turn towards more-than-representational practices and politics is propelling heritage studies away from simpler 'two-dimensional' textual readings and narrative accounts towards engaging with experience, the sensory realm and the affective materialities and atmospheres of the heritage landscape. As editors, our aim with this volume was to curate an intellectual space through which to provision three key agendas: (1) bring to bear a more fulsome understanding of the embodied aspects of heritage experiences; (2) interpret

the spaces of heritage so as to highlight the affective relationships that we have with our pasts; and (3) to acknowledge the ‘rolling maelstroms of affect’ (Thrift, 2004) that shape, are located, articulated and palpably accumulated, at heritage sites

Our purpose, therefore, has been to articulate a realm of experience, thinking and being, one that has formerly been considered inarticulatable. That is not to say that this line of thinking has been without powerful antecedents: indeed, Stuart Hall, in 1999, argued that ‘[heritage] is one of the ways in which a nation slowly constructs for itself a sort of collective social memory’ (see Hall, 2005 p.25). To this discursive consideration, many of the scholars in this volume have added the idea of heritage as a materialized social memory, thought through the nodal points of the body and its being and doing in a world that is both felt and expressive. While these lines of thinking continue to probe at Hall’s original question of ‘whose heritage?', they also add to the debate questions such as: ‘What counts as heritage? How is heritage encountered? How might it be engaged with? And why is it valued? It is important to note, however, that in the scholarship that tackles heritage, affect and emotion, emerging theories are not situated as fashionable ‘add-ons’ to the project of heritage, but instead are positioned as a way of engaging with materials of social memory that are variously occluded, marginalized or, indeed, core to the projects of conservation, preservation and self-determination for all societies. Harrison (2010) challenges many of the taken-for-granted perspectives about heritage, and advances Smith’s (2006) ‘authorised heritage discourse’. We build on this account of a *politics* that challenges traditional ways of ‘doing heritage’, but we posit a politics that is propelled, moved, and mobilized by a range of feelings, affordances and capacities that have worked outside the mainstream and conventional renderings of the heritage debate.

Feeling Heritage Pasts

In McCarthy's (2007) *Exhibiting Māori: A history of colonial cultures of display* the space of Māori heritage is about securing a space for 'curiosities', within an ethnological frame of understanding, this positioning of 'heritage' as a display of an 'other' to the progressive settler colony was constructed through a European lens that violated aesthetic, spiritual and historical relationships, affective economies and indeed closed down an account of the atmospheres of everyday living that came before. Despite a shift in curating Māori culture from primitive ethnographic artefact to the possibilities of being art and indeed elite culture, the articulation remains a deadened account that omits the plurality of narratives, values, and time-space necessary to fully appreciate Māori culture. This volume seeks to think through how 'otherness' plays out through the matrices of power and feeling that shape encounters beyond us looking onto 'cultures of display'. Sherman (2008) argues succinctly on how 'the use of alterity as a structuring concept entails taking the relationship between self and other as an irreducible component of cognition, desire, power, and ethics; museums are constituted by and themselves constitute frameworks that use alterity as an organising intellectual logic. The gap between 'self' and 'other' in Bennet's (2004) account, could not be bridged (at the colonial museum), as there is an active de-historicisation of 'others' and a lack of belief that the 'other' is situated in geological time and not modernity. This situates heritage as reading aboriginal culture as a prehistoric living presence in the Australian context, which does not imagine the 'other' visiting the site. That 'other' body is singular, without historical sensibilities, to be looked upon and categorised. There is no seeing-with or *being-with* the 'other' as a possibility; the other is not felt, known or understood beyond being considered as material artefact. Alterity in this volume is heterogeneous and situated at the site of the bodies and not artefact or aesthetics. The politics of difference in the heritage sphere is presented here as felt, embodied, intense and dynamically co-constituting the practices of meaning-making,

world-sense-making. What is articulated in the volume is the process of recognition, understanding, and experiencing *self* at heritage sites. This *self* in our analysis is presented as singular, collective, and figured through multiple space-times rather than the fixed, dioramic representations of cultures outside of European modernity and thus European space-time. In our account, feeling the past through embodied presencing of geological/environmental space-time is core to understanding identity, difference, alterity at heritage sites. Memory is posited here as an *affective* tool for the co-constitution of embodied, political narratives around these. Memory is at stake in contemporary heritage studies, practices and management (Fairclough *et. al*, 2008). However, the *object* of memory is as transformative as is the experience of encountering it. There is an agentic relationship between object and visitor, through affective energies shapes the envisioning of environment, meanings and futures. The politics of affective memory in this volume attends to the power of memory not to *translate* cultural objects, but to acknowledge their power to articulate pasts, identities, events and create atmospheres of experience and creative heritage. This is beyond an authorised heritage/ alternative heritage binary, affective memory when forged at heritage sites, shatters singular readings and narratives. Benton (2010) expands this further by situating heritage as dynamic and being as much about the recent modern past as it is about a ‘national’ culture or ‘ethnic’ culture. Memory is advanced by Benton, as a means of doing heritage inclusively, and through understanding intangible components of the value of heritage including beliefs, feelings and practices. We, in the investigation of practices at heritage sites, extend the focus on remembering and feeling to consider practitioner articulations of affective heritage relationships focused on inclusion and the plurality of narratives, meanings and memories that are co-constituted through experiencing heritage sites and places.

The problematizing of material culture has shifted the ways in which ‘object’ has been examined as symbolic or functional (Meskell, 2005), and anthropological theories on material cultures (Miller, 1998) and the ‘social life of things’ (Gell, 1986), has shifted the ground in terms of how we think through artefacts and materialities at heritage sites. However by *Thinking Through Things* Henare *et al.* (2007) have aimed to take seriously Tim Ingold’s account of how ‘culture is conceived to hover over the material world but not to permeate it’ (cited in Henare *et al.* 2007, p3). Here, interpretation is not the sole role of the anthropologist, rather, it is to consider the agency of things in articulating meaning; thus, raising the possibility that they themselves create life-worlds. Heritage thus is less about ‘ways of seeing’ centred upon anthropocentric values, but about giving power to the thing itself and making space for resonances not before encountered. In opening up this new terrain, the volume engages critically with the body of work that has been developing in the realms of cultural geography and elsewhere, where affect and emotion are thought through a ‘universal’ frame (Tolia-Kelly, 2006). Thus questions of history are at the heart of research, as are politics of race, racism, equality, social justice and ‘other’ ways of experiencing the heritage landscape. In terms of the volume’s contribution to critical heritage studies, there is no assertion of a post-structuralist lens peering into the literature on heritage, but a weaving together of the critical value of philosophers and scholars that challenge dominant (including archival and textual) narratives and discourse, including Foucault, Derrida, Deleuze and Guattari, Sedgwick and scholars of heritage, geography and culture such as Raphael Samuel, Tony Bennett, Nigel Thrift and Stuart Hall.

In this new heritage landscape, there are also different heritage economies at play, where ‘feeling’ and ‘being’ are important trajectories of engagement at heritage sites and museums. A key argument in this edited volume, therefore, is that heritage and its economies are driven by affective politics and consolidated through sensibilities such as

pride, awe, joy, pain, fear. Most of all, however, the research collected here exemplifies the ways in which theories of emotion and affect need to engage with the historical, and be situated within matrices of power, so that affective logics of history and heritage are sensitive to differently positioned narratives, memories, emotions and, indeed, material cultures. In tune with the need for the humanities and social sciences to acknowledge the limits of language and subjectivity, affective registers, atmospheres, emotional contours and embodied memories are about pluralizing the terms of engagement, through format, media and through embodied accounts. At the same time, ever renewed efforts to ‘return’ to the powerful possibilities of discourse, visibility and performativity remain active within the academic literature (Crouch 2015; Haldrup and Bærenholdt 2015; Wu and Hou 2015; Harrison 2013; Waterton and Watson 2013; 2014). In other words, ‘representation’ has not yet run its course but has been re-energized by the very countenance of its limitations. One of the ways in which it has achieved this reanimation is through recent attempts to define and understand the more-than-representational realm. This project continues to unfold within the wider social sciences, particularly within cultural geography and cultural studies, where such attempts to advance contemporary theory have seen the addition of theories of affect, assemblage, post-humanism, new materialism and actor network theory. While there have been some recent efforts to draw these lines of thinking more forcefully into the field of heritage studies (see Waterton 2014, 2015; Waterton and Watson 2013, 2014, 2015; Witcomb 2012), our interest is focused and purposeful in attending specifically to the theoretical potentialities of affect and emotion in the experience of heritage.

There are currently no comprehensive texts available that deal specifically with these sorts of emergent theorizations in the context of heritage, and it is this gap that we seek to address with this volume. Indeed, this gap provides for us something of an opportunity, for

our own engagements with heritage are almost entirely figured through affective registers and their expressive corollaries. What we were less certain about when we embarked on this project was how these engagements could be best understood and, more importantly, what new kinds of thinking were needed to capture what is immediate, embodied and performative about them. So we are pleased to bring together more certainty, along with a clear sense of intent, with this collection of contributions, all of which hone in on – with great critical acuity – questions of how researchers working in the field of heritage might begin to discover and describe affective experiences, especially those that are shaped and expressed in moments and spaces that can be, at times, intensely personal, intimately shared and ultimately social. Captured across these contributions, then, readers will find a shared exploration of current theoretical advances that aim to enable heritage to be affected and released from conventional understandings of both ‘heritage-as-objects’ and ‘objects-as-representations’, thereby opening it up to a range of new meanings, emergent and formed in moments of encounter. Whilst we have acknowledged that representational understandings of heritage are by no means made redundant through this agenda, they are destabilized and can thus be judged anew in light of these developments. For the various contributions collected together here, the notion of affecting heritage will play out in myriad ways: as writers that employ rhetoric, metaphor, aesthetics, form, narrative, description; as borders and genres that are crossed and melded; as surfaces and depths which are thought and felt in the act of writing and analysis; as a subject that is liberated, interrogated, positioned, disturbed; and in the ways that heritage refuses to be conventionalized, to be coherent, rational or ordered, and emerges as disparate, contradictory and multivalent.

The Collection’s Structure

In order to gain conceptual traction over the contributions that make up this volume, we have parcelled them into three groups, or Parts, arranged around the themes of memory, place and practice. In addition to providing a sense of order for the volume itself, these Parts also serve to contextualize the provocative contributions each author lends to our re-theorization of heritage. Indeed, they illustrate the ways in which a number of both well-established and emerging researchers and practitioners are thinking theoretically about affect, whether that is via landscapes, practices of commemoration, visitor experience, site interpretation and other heritage work.

Part I: Memory

An impulse to engage research and *think* heritage more democratically has resulted in a focus on memory. Before being canonized, authorized or, indeed, made material in the public domain, memory is at heart inclusive, accessible and a way of ‘doing’ heritage from below. Memory within this volume offers a route to counter authorized accounts at particular sites and practices, but also affords recognition of the striated nature of stories that *belong* to places. Memory expresses and articulates a plurality of attachments located in people’s hearts and minds, so that memories elicit affects at heritage sites, and vice-versa. Memory, identity and affect are thus co-constituted within the experiential landscapes of monuments, places and spaces where we preserve an account of the past for ourselves and others, and for future generations. As Sather-Wagstaff (Chapter 1, this volume) articulates, a new theorisation of heritage through affective registers, ‘is critical to unfolding the latent individual and social meanings of experiences as a form of embodied knowledge and cogent responses, even when not fully articulated, as well as the potential politics of affect through ambiguous and constantly shifting articulations and social effects’. Through thinking memory and affect simultaneously, as Sather-Wagstaff goes on

to articulate, we can fully recognize the power, place and dynamic nature of heritage sites as they signify a plurality of valuable heritage narratives that contribute to history and visions of futures. Likewise, Dittmer and Waterton (Chapter 3) engage with memory through their attempts to demonstrate how there is an affective homology that is material and visceral in the museum encounter. In their example of the Australian War Memorial, the memory of past bodies at war is simultaneously to be 'seen', felt and embedded through 'a multiplicity of lines of flight unspooled in and through us'. This is how memory is treated beyond a sanctioned ocular association, but through a visceral shudder, felt at the heritage space itself. Memory is four-dimensional in their account; the Memorial is worked through and disturbed, resulting in a plural account where past encounters are enlivened and brought to bear on future understandings of nation and identity, *as well as* the possibilities for sovereignty over these memories themselves. Memory, memorial and the visitor event thus can be seen as affective registers through which particular narratives gain momentum, meaning and hold resonance.

Cooke and Frieze (Chapter 4) take affective memories and futures further by considering the question: 'What happens to Holocaust memory when there are no survivors left'? In their chapter, the transformational potential of school children meeting Holocaust survivors is considered where forces of negation are tempered by the politics of witness and testimony. They discuss a methodology for keeping the affective alive and in contemporary debate through a 'pedagogy of feeling'. This is understood as learning through experience, which is transformative in attuning visitors to the project of learning to remember the Holocaust. Schorch, Waterton and Watson (Chapter 5) extend this account of the transformative potential of the heritage space through to thinking of it as a *canopy* under which cosmopolitan sensibilities can emerge, be articulated and, indeed, understood. The transformative logics in their chapter extend an account of social mixing to

appreciating the development of multicultural feeling, expression and tolerance. In investigate the ways in which the space of the museum choreographs conversations across cultural differences and boundaries, the authors simultaneously elucidate the ways that bodies, memories, enactments and expressive cultures take place at heritage sites and thus enfranchise progressive sensibilities through the affordance of in-process and emergent affective cosmopolitanisms.

Our Part on ‘memory’ closes with a critical inspection of affective memory via an exploration of slave-memory at the museum (Chapter 6). Here, Munroe argues that affect and emotion suffuse processes of narrative construction at the museum, and the ‘narrative’ *per se* is powerful, affective and transformative. As such, Munroe argues that we can no longer consider affect at the museum simply in ‘call’ and ‘response’ mode, but a relationship that is co-constituted at the site *through* the encounter, charged with emotion, and inspiring connectivities in a dialogic way. Munroe argues for the recalibration of the relationship between representational and more-than-representational theories to enhance explorations of heritage narratives that are always contested, perceptual and at risk of exclusion.

Part II: Places

In the second Part of the volume ‘places’ are considered as affective engagements. Iconic places such as castles, ruins and sites that somehow elide modernity are thought through as sites of feeling and affect. By situating the heritage encounter as affectively charged, our usual narratives about heritage sites are troubled, enriched and made more inclusive. In this Part, readers will find post-human engagements with heritage places where they become ecologies with agencies, intensities, and capacities, and through their agency actively co-create the landscape (see De Nardi, 2014). This sort of theoretical engagement commences

with the work of Hoskins (Chapter 7), who takes affective memory into dialogue with posthuman sensibilities. In his account, the agency of geology is privileged, challenging (human) ocular-centric accounts of the heritage landscape of Malakoff Diggins, California. Hoskins' heritage of place is understood through illustrating the embodied affective relationships that take place at a gold mine. Vertigo experienced at this site becomes a way of reflecting how we extend into the world and how the world extends into us in a post-humanist framework. Through the experience of vertigo, we no longer simply look outward onto a scene, but are physically troubled internally by the space itself. This examination extends heritage landscapes beyond traditional 'ways of seeing' the picturesque towards an understanding of heritage as an encounter with active agentic life-worlds. Light and Watson's account (Chapter 8) achieves what affective theory does not always quite lend itself to, and that is theorizing the power of affect *in situ* within a particular temporal and spatial framework. Their account considers the coordinates of affective registers and their power to co-constitute experience and, indeed, the narratives bounded within a space. The abstract nature of theory is synthesized to communicate the nature of castles, their layered experience and how the space articulates symphonically, thereby unpicking the competing understandings that are presented at the encounter with the castle as material heritage.

From castles to coasts, we encounter benign representations and others that are not so. In her chapter, Mains (Chapter 9) focuses on heritage and contestation, and explores this via the importance of affective geographies in opposed representations of coastal landscapes, and how these mobilize conflicting notions of heritage, development and sovereignty. The *place* of heritage in this chapter is co-narrated through the registers of loss, anger, fear and discontent; significations that are often considered oppositional to the place of leisure that is so often associated with coastal heritage. The currency of affect in

these economies of heritage are articulated through two international examples – Jamaica’s North Coast and North East Scotland – of coastal sites of discordancy and struggle between locals and others. The politics of feeling drive the economies of heritage, and in Mains’ account they are laid bare to expose hierarchies of power, control and enfranchisement that trigger conflict at heritage sites. Coastal sites are situated here as liminal spaces as well as held within circuits of mobility, transfer and exchange, and as such lay redundant notions of ‘universal’ heritage experiences. Through illustrating affective registers at play in place, Mains illustrates the politics of value and logics of heritage that counter those naturalized representations of coastal heritage sites as benign and framed through parochially-situated nostalgia. Dominant discourses are thus troubled through contestation and counter-discourse.

A completely different texture of place is presented in Munteán’s (Chapter 10) account of digital heritage in the twenty-first century. An encounter with heritage through the digital archive is more and more becoming a dominant interface between ‘visitors’ and heritage collections. This chapter illustrates how digital documentary heritage produces new auratic environments for visitors’ own affective engagements with heritage. The archive of photographs from Hungary entitled *Forteplan* is examined here as a means of democratizing heritage through making it accessible, but also through recording a variety of sensibilities that are made possible through the preservation of the *Forteplan* archive. The photographs offer us a collection of amateur pictures which would not normally be those encountered at a heritage site, and as such they democratize textures, iconographies and indeed the orientation from which heritage is done, felt and experienced. Commemoration occurs in the visual engagement with the archive in this account; conversely in Knudsen and Iverson’s (Chapter 11) account of commemorations of the Oslo and Utøya massacre in Norway in 2011, millions of people engaged with remembering the

dead and the event post-massacre. A grass-roots memorialization of the event is discussed in their chapter alongside a notion of the homogeneity of national trauma troubled by the authors. Death, massacre and loss become the collective registers of commemorating a public event connected by the politics of nation and affect. However, in their research the traumatic effect of the memorial itself is engaged with as a site of re-traumatization. The chapter problematizes the ethics of making visitors 'feel' trauma in the context of a 'national' loss, and here the question of commemoration radically alters the affective ecologies of locale, place and nation.

The north east of England is the site for Yarker's account of the affective heritage landscape (Chapter 12). In her chapter, Yarker argues for the place of heritage in the urban environment, suggesting that it ought to be more inclusive of working-class values. The dominant heritage discourse that Yarker encounters in place is only sympathetic to a particular 'set' of affective values, whereby some architecture is more valuable than others. Yarker's research attends to the affective heritage of the built environment as a way to understand the dissonances between an authorized heritage discourse (Smith, 2006) and the values of those residents who live amongst it in the everyday. Here, there is a call for an attunement to affective charges that celebrate textures of the urban as heritage rather than simply architecture, especially when valued by poorer majority communities. Thinking heritage *in situ* through the affective registers of counter-cultures, majority cultures and indeed occluded voices are privileged in these accounts.

Part III: Practices

Praxis is exemplified in the final Part of the collection through the work of Keith Emerick and Rosanna Raymond, both of whom are practitioners within the heritage realm. The critical tension in both of these accounts resides in practice rather than in theory, and is

exemplified through their articulations of how power, narration, display and ontologies themselves need to shift if we are to get beyond ‘Self’ and ‘Other’ in heritage displays and discourse. Giving power back to communities enables a reflection on the spectrum of affective relations that are part of democratic heritage practice. In his contribution, Emerick (Chapter 13) exposes the tensions between formal heritage frameworks and everyday values of heritage sites. He articulates how conflicts can arise between the public and the heritage professional, seen here from the perspective of the practitioner. He shows how heritage is more than the site, but equally about narration, co-production and everyday feelings about a heritage site. Emerick demonstrates how ‘narratives’ are contested, and often occlude the non-textual encounters that make sites meaningful and valued. The storying of place and ‘doing’ of heritage is pitched here as crucial in heritage practice rather than in the fabric of the site itself. Raymond (Chapter 14) is also a published poet, writer, and founding member of the *SaVAge K’lub*, with art works held in museum and private collections around the world. Through her performances and art, we can learn what a practitioner-led heritage space could look like. How is an inclusive approach to Maori, Polynesian and Oceanic heritage possible? And what are the missing accounts in our current exhibitions housed in national museums? These are two questions central to Raymond’s art practice. Pain, loss, defilement and guilt are part of the process of not doing heritage respectfully; bringing heritage back to life, to its rightful place, offers an alternative heritage landscape.

Conclusion

When we started this project it was unclear where it would lead us. Three conference sessions later, in Los Angeles, Groningen and London, we knew of at least a few more people who were interested, and their contributions have formed the core of this collection.

More than anything else, however, we thought it was important to at least begin a debate that had seemed a long time coming and if this book achieves that goal then we will be more than satisfied with it. Having said that, we also think that we have made progress, inroads, incursions in a field that had become rather satisfied with itself. The critical heritage debate provided momentum and motivation, the emerging theoretical canon around affect and emotion provided the framework for our thinking and research, and a concern with encounter and engagement gave us a point of departure, a place from which to begin this and to which we find ourselves returning in our conversations and debates in the heritage field. Clearly, there is much more to say, but the thinking and ideas presented here will, we hope, help to inform and enliven those conversations.

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